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INTRODUCTION

Repeated visits were necessary to complete the studies. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, however, each report is presented as the result of one visit of continuous interviews. Though this necessitated telescoping the time element, it in no way affects the material contributed by the persons interviewed.

Today sorcery is still practiced. Modern root doctors, visited frequently by their superstitious clients, perform mystic rites and promise to work miracles and cures. Many coastal Negroes view adversity not as the workings of fate but as the revenge of a personal enemy brought about by the mystic working of the conjure doctor. To this type of Negro there is little talk of "bad luck." To him it is "bad mouth" set against him by an enemy.

It is understandable that the older coastal Negro's use of ceremony and even the ordinary routine of his daily life are influenced profoundly by his beliefs. His imagination continues to crowd his world with spirits, both good and evil. Spirits of the departed are still believed to make frequent visitations to the earth and are as real to this type of Negro as his next door neighbor. Into his Christian ceremonies these superstitions and customs have been injected, lending a distinctiveness not found in many of the white man's ceremonies.

As the field of opportunity widens for the Negro and as his culture begins to approximate that of his white neighbor, it is among this fast vanishing type that the remnants of folk memories still live, without which this collection of source material could not have been compiled.

MARY GRANGER, *District Supervisor*
Georgia Writers' Project

Savannah, Georgia
November 4, 1940.

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347 ture, only some old pipes and pieces of scrap iron, heaps of burlap sacks, and ragged clothes. Outside is a small vege-
351 table garden, and clustered around the house in confusion are the odd automobile parts, lengths of pipe, parts of stoves, rags, and other miscellaneous items that make up the old man's stock in trade.

787 Wilson acknowledged a firm belief in the supernatural. He told us, "I wuz bawn wid spiritual knowledge which gib
795 me duh powuh tuh read duh mines uh people.[22a, e] I kin see people wut bin dead many yeahs. Duh dead know wut duh libin is doin an come roun deah close kin an friens wen dey is in trouble.[56] I kin speak tuh duh dead folk in song an dey kin unduhstan me.

"I kin see ghos mos any time. Dey seem lak natchul people. Duh way I know it's a ghos is cuz I kin nebuh ketch up wid um. Dey keep jis a suttn distance ahead uh me.

754 "Witches an cunjuh is jis groun wuk. Ef yuh keep way frum um dey sho caahn hut yuh. Some hab magic powuh wut come tuh um frum way back in Africa. Muh mothuh use tuh tell me bout slabes jis brung obuh frum Africa wut hab duh supreme magic powuh. Deah wuz a magic pass wud dat dey would pass tuh udduhs. Ef dey belieb in dis magic, dey could scape an fly back tuh Africa.[69c] I hab a uncle wut could wuk dis magic. He could disappeah lak duh win, jis walk off duh plantation an stay way fuh weeks at a time. One time he git cawnuhed by duh putrolmun an he jis walk up to a tree an he say, 'I tink I go intuh dis tree.' Den he disappeah right in duh tree."

• 124 These interviews, chosen at random from among the Old Fort Negroes, afford some small glimpse behind the scenes of this section's placid daily routine. They give significance
[777] to the penny often seen nailed to the bone-white doorstep
[789] and help the outsider to understand the mojo ring or luck piece worn by almost every man, the silver dime tied around many a woman's ankle.[8, 12a, c, d]

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Wilmington Island

115 UNCLE JACK TATTNALL* AND UNCLE ROBERT PINCK-
226 ney ** are river men. For many years they have earned a frugal living by casting for shrimp or crabbing or fishing in the Wilmington River. Apparently they are in little fear of the elements. Winter or summer, at whatever hour of the day or night the tide is "right," they are on the water in their bateaux.

311 Many of the Wilmington Island Negroes depend upon the
461 river for their livelihood. In leisure hours, here as in other
322 sections, skillful fingers carve or weave to pass the time away.
532 We were fortunate in being shown a walking stick (Plate
481 IIb)[A] carved some years before by an old fisherman of the island.† The delicately detailed figure of a human being formed a third of the stick, with hair, features, fingers, and shoes carefully executed. The narrow thin figure stood stiffly gowned in a garment edged with a saw-tooth design.

•124 For some time we had been anxious to obtain interviews with Uncle Jack and Uncle Robert, who were among the oldest inhabitants of Wilmington Island, in order that we might learn something regarding beliefs and customs that had been handed down to them. Until the present time, we had met with little success.

124 A barbecue to be held in the side yard of Celia Small, one
114 of the islanders, at last gave us the long hoped for opportunity of meeting a number of the residents at one time.

* *Jack Tattnall, Wilmington Island.*
** *Robert Pinckney, Thunderbolt.*
† *Property of Edward A. Sieg, 128 West Jones Street, Savannah.*

A. [See Category 322, plate following p. xxxii-B--Analyst]

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When we arrived, it was just getting dark. Black masses of trees were outlined against the sky. To the south a shining river curved into shadows. A little wind blowing up from the marsh tasted of salt.

The party was in full swing. Small groups clustered about the open fire, chatting amiably and tending the juicy pork which was slowly roasting on a grill. The light of the fire lit up the shiny black faces and touched here and there on a bright blouse or turban.

Uncle Jack, tall, bony-framed and lanky, had worn his usual workaday clothes to the party. His kindly, near-sighted eyes shone with excitement. Uncle Robert, small and spry, had dressed up in honor of the occasion. He was conspicuously proud of his derby hat, neatly brushed and cleaned. It was about two sizes too large and came down to Uncle Robert's ears at the sides and to his eyebrows in front, but, almost new, it gave the old man a certain air of assurance and seemed to make him forget that his brown suit was faded and well worn.

When the opening merriment had somewhat subsided, the crackling of pork fat and the smell of hot yams drew the party around the fire where Uncle Jack and Uncle Robert were exchanging reminiscences of old times. For the most part the others listened, occasionally interjecting a sentence or two.

We asked how long the old men had lived on the island and Uncle Jack answered, "All muh life I lib right yuh on Wilmington Ilun. Bawn yuh an nebuh want tuh lib no place else. I got ebryting I want right yuh."

Uncle Robert, who was eighty-one, about ten years older than Uncle Jack, said that he had come to the island from Clinch County just before the War between the States.

The long journey undertaken so many years ago had made a vivid impression on him. With a far-away expression in his eyes, the old man told us about that trip.

point Aunty Jane rose to give us an exhibition of two dances, the Buzzard Lope and the Snake Hip.[17]

Across the highway from Aunty Jane's settlement, about one mile north of Darien, back of a turpentine still, is an irregular settlement of small houses, most of which are enclosed by high dilapidated paling fences. Here Wallace Quarterman * occupied a cabin with his daughter, Abby Gibson. Wallace was old but with a clear mind, and he enjoyed a high standing in his community. We felt that he would know about the old beliefs and customs.

We left the highway on a narrow dirt road, little more than a path through the bush, and after much winding in and out we came upon a street of Negro cabins with their enclosed yards, vegetable patches, and tumbled down sheds. Wallace was sitting on the porch of Abby's house. Lizzie Sanders volunteered to be our guide and paid a visit to Wallace along with us.

We asked him how old he was and where he was born.

"Ise bawn July 14, 1844. Now figguh dat out fuh yuhsef, missus. Ise bawn at Sout Hampton, Libuty County, an I belong tuh Roswell King, but he done die long bout sometime in duh fifties an Ise sole fuh debt tuh Cunl Fred Waring on Skidaway Ilun. Ise bin bout fifteen wen I sen tuh Skidaway."

For a long time we had wanted to establish some connection with Skidaway Island that reached back before the War between the States. We questioned Wallace about the church on Skidaway.

"We sho did hab big time goin tuh chuch in doze days. Not many uh deze Nigguhs kin shout tuhday duh way us could den. Yuh needs a drum fuh shoutin."

We asked if they shouted to a drum then.

"We sho did. We beat a drum at duh chuch an we beat a drum on duh way tuh duh grabeyahd tuh bury um. We

* *Wallace Quarterman, Darien. Deceased autumn, 1938.*

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SAPELO ISLAND

Small Negro settlements are scattered at the north end of Sapelo and are reached by winding roads that cut through the tropical woodlands and brush. The Negroes are descendants of the slaves of the plantation era. Many lead an easy, carefree life which consists chiefly of fishing, crabbing, and cultivating a small patch of garden, while others engage in regular employment at the sawmill or in the company offices.

Living an isolated island existence, these Negroes have preserved many customs and beliefs of their ancestors, as well as the dialect of the older coastal Negro. An old oxcart (Plate XVI)[A] jogging along a tree shaded road is a familar sight, and under the guidance of a Negro boy named Julius we discovered instances of crude wooden implements in common usage. The many Negroes interviewed gave a graphic picture of survival elements that have persisted since the days when slave ships brought their ancestors to the new country.

One of the oldest inhabititants is Katie Brown (Plate XV),[B]* whose grandmother, Margaret, was a daughter of Belali Mohomet, the Mohammedan slave driver of Thomas Spalding. Katie, sunning herself on the back steps of her small house, was disposed to be gracious to us. Shaking her head at the size of the shoes brought to her as an incentive to conversation, she relented at the sight of some pipe tobacco and began to talk:

"I dunno bout drums at chuches. Use tuh hab um long time ago, but not now on duh ilur.,—leas I ain heah um. Hahves time wuz time fuh drums. Den dey hab big times.[23] Wen hahves in, dey hab big gadderin. Dey beat drum, rattle dry goad wid seed in um, an beat big flat tin plates.[23, 25] Dey shout an moob roun in succle an look lak mahch goin tuh heabm. Hahves festival, dey call it."

In response to our query about "set-ups" Katie replied,

* *Katie Brown, Sapelo Island.*

A, [See Category 493, plate following p. xxxii-U--Analyst]
B, [See Category 142, plates following p. xxxii-Q and R--Analyst]

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row wooden gate opened into a field where a winding path led to the small cabin of Julia Grovernor,* called Juno by the island Negroes. Julia, very black, tall and gaunt, was slightly hostile and suspicious and disinclined to talk. Even the pipe tobacco, potent in most cases, she indifferently dropped.

"No'm, I ain know nuttn. Ise feeble-minded. I bin weak in head sence I small chile. No'm, I ain know nuttn bout witches. I ain know nuttn bout root doctuhs. No'm, I ain nebuh heah uh cunjuh. No'm, I ain know nuttn bout spells. No'm. I ain kin tuh Katie Brown."

This refusal to answer except in the negative seemed to continue indefinitely. Finally, however, after innumerable slow, quiet, good-humored questions that showed no resentment at her hostility, she became friendly in a reserved and superior way. It was soon evident that this sullen, reticent woman, though hostile to outside invasion, was not feeble-minded, but on the contrary sharp-witted, with a dry sense of humor.

"Muh gran, she Hannah. Uncle Calina muh gran too; dey bote Ibos. Yes'm, I membuh muh gran Hannah. She marry Calina an hab twenny-one chillun. Yes'm, she tell us how she brung yuh.

"Hannah, she wid huh ahnt who wuz diggin peanuts in duh fiel, wid uh baby strop on uh back. Out uh duh brush two wite mens come an spit in huh ahnt eye. She blinded an wen she wipe uh eye, duh wite mens done loose duh baby frum huh back, an took Hannah too. Dey led um intuh duh woods, weah deah wuz udduh chillun dey done ketched an tie up in sacks. Duh baby an Hannah wuz tie up in sacks lak duh udduhs an Hannah nebuh saw huh ahnt agen an nebuh saw duh baby agen. Wen she wuz let out uh duh sack, she wuz on boat an nebuh saw Africa agen."

* *Julia Grovernor, Sapelo Island. Deceased winter, 1938.*

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St. Simons Island

131 ST. SIMONS, ONE OF THE LARGER COASTAL ISLANDS, lies off the Georgia coast not far from Brunswick on the mainland. For about fifteen years it has been connected by (491) causeway and bridge to the Coastal Highway. St. Simons has always had a considerable Negro population, owing to 177 the fact that from early times many large plantations as well as smaller settlements flourished on the island. This has given the Negroes considerable contact with white people and of late years with the rather sophisticated type of tourist. Fearing that the old customs would have been for- • 124 gotten, we had little hope of good field work here.

However, we had not worked half a day in the north end settlements of the island before we were happily surprised. Around Harrington and Frederica there still live many old Negroes who remember the customs and beliefs told them by their parents and grandparents. Most of them are intelligent, reticent, and proud. Not easy of approach but with good manners, they responded to the request to help record the traditional beliefs of their forefathers. Once they had realized the object of our conversation, they talked freely and graciously, and several were outstanding for their keen comprehension.

115 We went to see Catherine Wing,* who lives at the corner of the Harrington Road and the main Frederica Highway. (342) Her comfortable frame house was set in the midst of a flower garden and her washtubs were conveniently placed under a (351) grape arbor and spreading live oaks.

(296)

* *Catherine Wing, St. Simons Island.*

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123 People in general are often insecure about their particular varieties of speech, and collecting spontaneous speech data can be a problem for anyone conducting a linguistic survey. It is even more of a problem on the Sea Islands because the native speakers of Gullah can and do adjust [195] their speech to produce the closest possible approximations of standard English when they are addressing strangers. To eliminate pressure on the speakers to avoid the creole speech (and to help validate my presence), I explained that one of my objectives for being on the islands was to learn as much as possible about folk medicine "roots," folktales, "lies," and "the old-time talk." I explained, for example, that my grandmother had taught me to identify and collect herbs or roots which were helpful in alleviating certain ailments or even in effecting certain cures. These topics generated much interest and humor; consequently, I was able to assemble a wide store of knowledge concerning medicinal cures, complete with folktales, as well as to collect several varieties of speech data.

123 Something I learned by sitting through one market day in Charleston 437 illustrates a final point. As I observed an islander selling tomatoes, I realized that she felt much more satisfaction when she sold her goods to a person with whom she had haggled assiduously over the price than when she sold the same amount for a higher price to a well-intentioned but clearly patronizing customer. She had been robbed of the satisfaction of arriving at an "agreed" price. Feelings about the inequality of human beings had been transmitted along with the unequal prices of the tomatoes.

123 Achieving and maintaining equality in relationships is crucial when striving to establish rapport with informants. Kenneth Goldstein cites a • 124 statement to this effect made by Alan Lomax in 1950 during a symposium on data collecting at the Mid-century International Folklore Conference held at Indiana University:

> People say to me that they would like to help me along with my work, that I look as if I need help. And I tell them that I am taking up their time and that I would like to make it up to them. There was never any question of dignity being involved; none of us in our situation was more dignified than anyone else. If the informant liked to drink, I drank, and if he liked to acquire a salary, I haggled with him very hard and very seriously, but we fought over it as equals.[6]

[p. xxiv is blank]

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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123 arriving at New Jerusalem African Methodist Episcopal Church. I attended church service because one must go to church to see the greatest gathering of people, and one must have the minister's sanction for one's work if one is to gain cooperation during the research. I was introduced to the congregation, and after the service the islanders were warm and hospitable, as is the custom on the church ground and as is common practice in many southern communities. But once we left the grounds, most members of the community became very conservative and even hostile concerning the mechanics of their culture. Their reactions to me followed a specific pattern. First they asked, Whose daughter are you? Because I was not the daughter of anyone on the island, the next question was, Who are your people here? As I had no relatives on that island or any island, the next question was, Whom did I know, or whom was I visiting? When they learned that I neither knew nor was visiting anyone, most interviews ended on the spot—even though most people had promised at church to offer their assistance.

• [124]

Quite by coincidence, I gave an elderly lady a ride to Charleston. As I drove along the winding roads, she told me that she lived alone, loved to crab and fish, and took a "nip" for her arthritis every now and then. She had lived in the Wadmalaw community all her life and had a host of relatives and friends on neighboring islands up and down the Carolina/Georgia coast. She knew the traditions; later, she would be instrumental in helping me to learn them. Because this lady was socially active and was held in high esteem, she was ultimately able to provide me with acceptable answers to the questions Sea Islanders ask of all new faces. I became Miss Myma's "granddaughter" who lived away and came to visit every summer.[1] (My greatest accomplishment would be finally getting her to leave Wadmalaw and come to Michigan to visit me.)

123 609 Having a person well known and well respected to provide a lineage helped in my approaches to the community. But since most people born on any given island know each other, I soon realized that I had the status of "outsider," and no outsiders, black or white, are welcomed warmly into Sea Island activities or viewed without suspicion until they have spent considerable time among the people, performing daily tasks and becoming involved in daily living activities. The people have long been ridiculed for their speech, life-style, and mannerisms. In addition, they are very much aware that their culture has been a topic of interest to folklorists, linguists, historians, and others since the

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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Appendix 1

An Interview: Catching Fish

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The ancient fishing methods explained in this interview are reminiscent of those found in Nigeria and other African countries near large bodies of water. I actually observed the drumming and spearing technique among the Igbo and Ibebio of northern Nigeria. Juanita Jackson, Sabra Slaughter, and J. Herman Blake also write of this continuing fishing practice on the Sea Islands.[1]

[115]

The informant was a retired tradesman and a very important member in the church community. He said that he learned these practices from his father, and his father had learned them from the "old people" before him.

The interview has been edited slightly for clarity.

Mr. Daniel Dent
Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina
1983

226
•124

INFORMANT: To catch mullet fish, we goes in the river. Everything still. The water still. Make a few throw with the cast net, and you haven't catch anything. So you get up on the side of boat and you beat on side with you oars, or paddle. And you just keep beating—[you] call em dolphin, we call em horsemen—then beat until the porpoise come around. After the porpoise come around, then the mullet fish will come to the shallow water. [Then] you cast for catch em. You don't catch much fish without the horseman. The porpoise have to be around. The only way to get the porpoise, man—[you] don't see them—you beat some, on the side of the boat, and they'll hear you miles for miles under the water.

[P. 151]

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226
•124 INTERVIEWER: How does the sound go?

INFORMANT: (Tapping out a steady beat on his chair) You can't hear the sound.

LISTENER: You can't get the right sound. Under water de different sound.

INFORMANT: (Taps again) Something like that. (Taps again) Here's the beat. This the way it sound. But a little bit lighter because e not on the water. You on the boat with a paddle. So that the way you get your fish when you fishes in deep water. You call the dolphin to the shore by paddle beating on the boat. So many time I done that for a living—until I can't number em.

INTERVIEWER: You called the dolphin three things?

INFORMANT: I call em a horseman or a porpoise. The way I learn, I learn from the old people.

INTERVIEWER: You call him a horseman?

INFORMANT: Uh hum. In fact, e *is* a horseman for a workman. See? You understand what I'm talk about now?

INTERVIEWER: A horseman?

INFORMANT: A horseman, yeah. Someting that most people call [a thing with] four feet. But the man [part] is a man. All right?

INTERVIEWER: Do you know any other fishing methods?

INFORMANT: I knows gig [gill] net [smoke fishing]. The way I use to, when I come up [was growing up], I was too poor to buy a lantern. So we just [went] out [in the] winter time, and those who had tires on they car, [if the tires were] no good, we use that for a light. And we goes in river. Sometimes the wind blows, e blind you with the smoke. But we had manage to catch many bushel of trouts and many bushel of fish with four-prong or three-prong gig. Caught many bushel fish that way. Just use a little tar for light by night, and we gelds [stick] fish in the water.

LISTENER: Catch em by stick em with that fork.

INTERVIEWER: Do you know any other ways?

INFORMANT: Yeah, I had did this back in Hoover time when tings was bad. We didn't had, couldn't get a cast hook the way I want em. I had takes someting we call hog wire and put em cross the river. When the tide comes up, you goes and cut muckle mish [bush] and drop em behind the wire to hold the fish on that side when e [the tide] goes down because we didn't had a gill net to put over

[EXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 155]

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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•124 INTERVIEWER: How does the sound go?

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 155]

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•124 river. Time was for tight, we couldn't buy a gill net. So what I be do, take hog wire and put em across em when tide low. When the tide get high, we take the bush and put em in the front of the wire. When the water start for go back, the fish can't get through, de stop on that side.

123 my stay brought contacts with an age group which ranged from junior high school students to young adults in their thirties. More importantly, it gave me a reason for being on the island which was accepted by the community, and which brought many hours of cherished conversation in homes as I shared meals and stayed overnight when I taught. It also gave me unexpected data on sex and age differences in use of the written code, as I taught a modified version of the freshman composition class I had taught for several years at junior colleges in California.

3.3 Collection of Data

126 Recording sessions on the river island were conducted
• 124 in individual homes, using a Sony cassette recorder, model TC-92. Two initial recordings were made of older men describing the rice-planting process, using a hand-held microphone. The resulting data were clearly formal register and have been treated as such in the analyses. Subsequent recordings were made using a small clip-on microphone, Sony ECM-16, and produced more natural conversation. Topics ranged from descriptions of living conditions and activities on the island before the coming of electricity and motorized boat transportation, to discussions with teen-agers of whether or not they might remain on the island as adults. The common thread which ran through all the recorded conversations was the distinctive island life. While no formal

126 questionnaire was used, efforts were made to establish
•124 whether or not the person had lived off the island for any considerable length of time, since it became apparent that mobility was a factor influencing language change. The approximate age of the speaker was usually revealed in the course of the conversation. From a total of sixteen recorded adult conversations on the river island, twelve have been selected for the comparative analysis of language change and social factors in the final chapter. These twelve were chosen to include two men and two women from three natural age groups, determined from my observations of interaction in the community. Older adults over sixty-five no longer worked outside the home regularly and remained on the island most of the time. Middle age adults, who had growing families, commuted off the island daily to jobs on the mainland. Young adults, most of whom were not yet married, engaged in frequent school and social activities with each other. All
[123] recordings used in the analyses include the researcher as participant, as well as whatever family members happened to be present. All were made with the knowledge and consent of the principal speakers.

Originally, the project had been conceived of as including a comparative analysis of individual speakers' language use with an outsider and with an in-group member.
[123] It was not possible to record natural conversations between island residents without the participation of an outsider,

but such a range of language use would be highly desirable for inclusion in any comprehensive analysis of language change.[2] Observations of such conversations were made, and some anecdotal information will be included as a supplement to the recorded data. The one recording made without the researcher as a participant is an example of highly formal register; the circumstances of this recording were that an elementary school child took home a recorder at my request and asked her grandmother to record memories of her youth on the island. In effect, the recorder itself acted as a participant, and was the recipient of a carefully rehearsed speech.

In addition to recordings of conversations with island residents, conversations with selected mainland residents were also recorded. From observations made of language used by school children and by some mainland residents encountered at various community activities, it had become apparent that the lower socio-economic group on the mainland retained more creole features in their speech than did island residents. For comparative purposes, therefore, four conversations made with speakers from this sub-group of this black

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[2]Denison (1969, 1971) provides a description of the range of language used by a particular community, in his study of a plurilingual community in the Carnian Alps. His analysis was based on observations made during extended vacations in the community, not recorded electronically, and serves as a model for the allocation of language resources which a given community might show.

126 population in rural Georgetown County are included in the
•124 analyses of linguistic variables and in the comparison of social factors influencing linguistic change. These four recordings include two men and two women in the oldest age group.

Some recordings were also made of a wide range of children in the school setting. Most of these are relatively short stories told by the children or ritual insults exchanged by them at the very beginning or end of a recording session. Because the environmental setting and the kind of speech event differed from that of the adult recordings, these language samples cannot be directly compared with those obtained for adults. A summary of their characteristics will be included in the discussion of the sex, age, and mobility factors which affect language choices. All island children in grades three through six were recorded telling an anecdote or ghost story of their choice; the grammatical features used in these stories can be usefully compared from child to
126 child. These classroom recordings were made as a natural part of my activities as a teacher's aide. Since part of my
[123] classroom duties had entailed helping a small group of non-readers in sessions in which we had recorded the children's own stories for use in reading, working with small groups of children using the tape recorder was an ordinary classroom activity. The typed versions of stories told by the children were sometimes read to the class by the students themselves,

125 attitudes and the children's school performance were made available to school officials in a final report to the Georgetown County Board of Education at the conclusion of my
125 field work. The recording sessions with children utilized
126 the same kinds of recording equipment described above, with the small clip-on microphone again proving most successful. Most sessions were conducted in a semi-private section of the school auditorium, with at least two and no more than five children present for each recording.

• 124 All of the data used for the present study come from connected free discourse, recorded in environments familiar to the speakers and using topics of interest to the participants. The experiences of seeing the sun rise through the trees that bordered the river island, feeling the bitter cold of an early morning boat ride across the water, shaking out the sand after a walk through the deeply rutted roads, watching the scrub oaks turn a brilliant red in fall, a dull brown in winter--these experiences which leave traces inside people were as important to an analysis of the language used in this community of coastal South Carolina as were the tracings on magnetic tape made of our conversations. These shared experiences with the people made possible the hours of language activity between us.

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
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South Carolina
Georgetown

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL FACTORS

5.0 Overview

121 197 The present chapter deals with the social factors of sex, age, and mobility which appear to influence the activation of linguistic change for individual speakers. The variables of sex and age were chosen prior to the field work done for the study, on the basis that these social factors have been shown repeatedly to influence language usage. Mobility, i.e., living or working inside or outside the community, was chosen as a third variable after some time in the field. Observation of children's language use in the [123] classroom and on the playground and conversations about their travels and visits with relatives indicated that the range of language at their command was closely related to the extent of their geographic mobility. Interviews with adult [124] speakers subsequently elicited information about their geographic mobility, after it became apparent that its effect on language use could be even greater than that of economic 128 status for the population being studied. Section 5.1 will discuss the relationship between sex of speaker and language use; 5.2 will consider the factor of age; and 5.3 will discuss

6: Smith I,Y-5 (no date) 1989
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PROCEDURES

121 The initial task was to compile listings of the Black
•124 families on each island. This task was accomplished by interviewing residents of each island. The postal workers among those interviewed were knowledgeable of the names and addresses of the islands' Black families. Black school teachers who live and work on the islands were helpful in estimating the number and ages of children in the families. Elder Black islanders were helpful and very adept at outlining the kinship trees and in detailing the composition of the families. When a list for each island containing the names of at least twenty families had been compiled, the first task was consid red complete. Based upon the available information on family composition, only families which met the study's definition of a family unit were included on the five lists.

124 The second task was to authenticate the composition of the listed families and then to elicit the participation of family units meeting the study definition. Each family named on the lists was coded with randomly assigned three digit numbers. Then slips of paper containing these three digit numbers were produced for each listed family. By-island of residence, these numbered slips were dropped into one of five shoe boxes. Each shoe box was labelled to represent one island. All the boxes had covers. The covers

●124 had slit openings in their middle. Each box was throughly shaken after the slips were dropped into them. Before the first slip was drawn and after each subsequent draw the box was shaken. The drawing method was to blindly reach into the box and pick up one single slip of paper. This procedure was repeated ten times for each box. After ten slips had been drawn, the numbers on each slip was matched with the number and corresponding family names on the list for that island. When these ten families had been identified and noted, the slips were returned to the box from which they had been drawn. This overall procedure was repeated for each of the five boxes. The ordering of the boxes and consequently the drawing order corresponded with distance from the mainland. In this scheme, the James Island box was first and the Edisto Island draw was last.

The second task under this set was to authenticate the family compositions of the selected family units. Using the available entries, the researcher showed up at the address or family gaps of the tentatively selected units. [123] At this point the researcher explained his purposes, which was always prefaced by a detailed description of the researcher's family linkage. Then, at what the researcher deemed an appropriate point in the discussion, inquires were made about the composition of the family units. As a result of these inquiries only those units which met the

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• 124 study's unit definition were asked to participate and with their elders' consent, scheduled for later interviews. Those families whose unit structures were outside the study's definition were engaged in extended general conversation during this initial contact, but were not scheduled for later interviews.

TABLE 1

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Number of Unit Interviews	Island Unit Resided on
	Two trial unit administrations on Johns Island
4	Four family units on James Island
2	Two family units on Johns Island
2	Two family units on Wadmalaw Island
2	Two family units on Yonges Island
4	Four family units on Edisto Island
14 units	

TABLE 2

THE INTERVIEWING TIME LINE

Two weeks	James Island	24	interviews
One "	Johns Island	12	"
One "	Wadmalaw Island	12	"
One "	Yonges Island	12	"
Two "	Edisto Island	24	"
Seven weeks		84	interviews

TABLE 3

•124 SCHEMATIC OF UNIT INTERVIEWING PATTERN

	James	Johns	Wadmalaw	Yonges	Edisto
Grandparents	1st	1st	1st	1st	1st
Parents	3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd
Children	2nd	2nd	2nd	2nd	2nd

Interviewing Places.--The family gap was the site of the interviews. Interviews were conducted both in and out of doors. The actual sight of the interview was left to the discretion of the interviewee. In some cases the location turned out to be under large oak trees, on porches; other interviews were conducted in parked cars, in open fields and even in row boats.

Interview Pattern.--The group interview was not used. It was not possible to absolutely isolate some respondents (i.e., mothers with young children). However, a concerted effort was made to insure privacy and confidentiality during the interview. This effort was relaxed in the interviewing of children, but children were not interviewed when in close company of adult members of the unit.

124 125 Instrument Pre-Testing.--Two family units from Johns Island were used in the pre-administration of the instrument. As a result of the pre-test inactivities the length of the structured questionnaire was reduced by nine questions. The open response phase of the instrument was

124 deleted in total. The first reducing action was taken be-
125 cause these questions elicited an extremely wide range of responses and was therefore judged as irrelevant and tangential to the experience of the respondents. The second deletion was taken because the complete instrument was too time consuming and tedious to complete.

124 The second major modification was in the method of administration. It quickly became evident that insisting on the absolute isolation of respondents was a hindrance to and heightened the inhibitions of the interviewees. The adopted procedure was to insist on interviewee privacy only to the extents to which privacy was feasible. See Appen-
(125) dix A for study instrument and subject categorization form. A

INTERVIEW PROCEDURE

123 The presence of the researcher in the Family Gap ob-
124 viously disturbed the family activities. To counteract this effect the researcher made pre- or non-interviewing visits to each Gap before actual interviews were begun. The purpose of the pre-visits were to acquaint the researcher with the family members (their patterns) and as importantly to have the family get adjusted to the researcher. These visits lasted as long as was necessary for this adjustment to take place. These visits lasting from "day clean" until late in the evening hours provided the

A. [See Category 125, pp. 80-82--Analyst]

123
124 researcher ample opportunity to explain the nature of the research effort and to alleviate any concerns which were voiced. When the researcher was satisfied that these objectives had been met, the actual interviews were begun.

When all members of a unit had been interviewed, this procedure was repeated at the next Family Gap. When all interviews were completed on one island, the researched moved on to the next island repeating the same procedures until the interview schedule was completed.

INTERVIEW METHOD

(125) The participation observation interview was used as the data collection method. A structured interview utilizing thirteen questions was administered. Each interview was conducted from a structured format. After the respondent had designated where the interview was to be held, the actual procedure was to engage the respondent in conversation about the family. The focus of the conversations were initially directed at general aspects of the family and as the discussion continued the researched directed the content of the conversation by directly asking each question on the instrument. Respondents were allowed to answer questions in as much detail as they wanted. The researcher followed each complete response with the question "does dat about cover it?" If the respondent said yes, the researcher asked the next question. If the response was no, the

123 researcher asked "wast else need be sai?" and respondents
•124 were allowed to complete their answers before the next question was asked.

RECORDING RESPONSE

124 A structured response sheet was used to record re-
126 sponses. This sheet contained a listing of each question and the possible responses. When a response was one of the listed responses, the researcher merely checked that response. When responses were offered for which no previous categories existed, these responses were entered under the category "other" for that question.

At the end of each interviewing day the researcher added those responses in the other category to the list of possible responses. The final activity of the day was to tabulate the responses.

RESPONSE MEASUREMENT

124 Responses for question Number 3 were scaled on a five
125 point design. Twelve of the questions had pre-established response categories. Each question was followed by a list of from three to eight separate response categories. "Other" was the last response category of each question. Responses which did not fit into existing categories made up the other categorical responses (see questionnaire, Appendix A). A 4

A,[See Category 125, pp. 80-82--Analyst]

•124
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Schematic of the Scale Measurements

	Scale	Everytime	Often	Sometime	Seldom	Never
Quest.	(3)	0	1	2	3	4

STUDY CONSIDERATIONS

122 Adjusting to the Sea Island environment was a crucial prerequisite to the successful conduct of this research effort. Even though the researcher is a native speaker of the Gullah dialect a period of adjusting or tuning into this speech pattern was necessary.

These adjustments were expedited by time and by gaining as much exposure to the dialect as possible.

124 Through the pre-administration activities it became clear that the interviewing schedules would have to be flexible and modified in consideration of the summer habits of the islanders. What this meant along with other things was that the researcher had to conduct the interviews of women folks at a time when the daily chores were completed and the women were relaxing from the summer heat. For working members of the family weekend and late evening interviews were most appropriate.

During the trail administration family members were obviously anxious about being isolated from the family and discussed their anxiety with the researcher. It was apparent that this procedure operated in opposition to a rather free flowing interaction style among family members.

124 Consequently, this procedure was relaxed to some degree during the actual interviews.

123 Had not the researcher been a native of the Sea Islands this research effort would have been immensely more difficult. 114 In part this difficulty could be attributable to the workings of other researchers in this area. In particular, many of the islanders voiced deep concern over the book written by Carawan Ain't we Got a Right to the Tree of Life. These islanders felt this work was by no means an accurate representation of their life style or beliefs. But because 123 of the native heritage of the researcher many families agreed to participate in hopes of the writer being more able to accurately present the ethos of the Sea Island people.

128 DATA ANALYSIS

Statistical inference was the method of data analysis. The chi-square and the Fisher Exact Test were used to compute significance at either the .05, .01 or .001 level. The following analysis of relationship between the variables island, generation, and sex were conducted:

I Island (1,2,3,4,5) by questions one thru thirteen.

II Generation (1,2,3) by questions one thru thirteen.

III Sex (1,2) by questions one thru thirteen.

IV Island by generation by questions one thru thirteen.

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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APPENDIX

METHODOLOGY

126 The recordings reflect a variety of speech genres and styles. Samples were recorded around firesites, in vegetable fields, in 'juke' joints, on the backs of trucks, in private homes and at crab hunts. The social stratification of speakers ranges from a prosperous businessman and landowner to a semi-recluse. The samples reflect formal religious oratory, reminiscences, involved story-telling (called 'lies' by the islanders) and heated verbal debates, 'dozen style'.

123 I was introduced to the Wadmalaw community by natives who were held in high esteem, and was welcomed to live among them and become involved with their daily work and play activities. On my third and last visit, I felt that I had been accepted not as a member to the community (to earn this kind of acceptance one must be born and raised on the island) but as a regularly visiting relative of SOME member of the community. The islanders were
123 cooperative and gave me invaluable assistance in locating
124 consultants who were elderly, long-term natives of the island with little formal education, and who could speak the purest form of Gullah. These requirements were not always reliable indices for descerning the true Creole

123 speaker. Many school-age children between the ages of 10
124 and 16 with formal education used Creole features as frequently as many of the elderly consultants.

124 The following preliminaries were made in preparation
125 for the study:

1. A list of features known to be Creole to keep me alert to Creole construction types.
2. An awareness of conversation topics most likely to have a high probability of eliciting natural responses.
3. A word list containing minimal pairs for the elicitation of vowels and consonants.

124 The word list was not included until my third and final visit to Wadmalaw Island. The list is long and the
126 elicitation is painfully slow and exacting. I soon learned that some of the words on the list were unfamiliar to the consultants, but I was given their equivalent word replacements. For example, Gullah speakers do not often say *bit*, *air*, *coffin*, or *cot*. Instead they use *bite*, *breeze*, *pinto* and *sates*, respectively. Each consultant who aided with the phonology survey was one that I had known and spent a substantial amount of time with over the three year period. Those who were able to read pronounced the words into my tape recorder and I transcribed them on the spot. Others who were unable to read because of failing eyesight or other factors were asked to pronounce the words using different techniques. For example, I often asked questions such as, 'What do you wear on your feet when you go

124 bogging?' The consultant would answer, 'Boots.' It often
126 took as long as a week to complete the word list for one consultant.

115 The Consultants

The consultants listed below were all born on Wadmalaw and had resided little or no time on shore.

1. Mrs. Aneatha Brisbane (Miss Hyma) is a very gracious widow of seventy-four years. Her assistance in eliciting natural responses from others for word list and syntactic
(122) structures was invaluable. I resided with her and am indebted to her for data recorded in familiar environments.

2. Mr. Henry Gibbs is a ninety-six-year-old gentleman. He remains still very active, loquacious, and alert. His recollections of ex-slave conditions and uninhibited speech was a major contribution to this work.

3. Mr. Ozzie Rivers (Mr. Happi) is a deeply religious seventy-year-old gentleman. He contributed much to my understanding of the phonology of Gullah. His vast store of religious experiences were reminiscent of similar ones dating back to West Africa.

4. Mrs. Annie Brown (Miss Missi) is a lighthearted widow of seventy-six, who leads a very private and secluded existence. I am grateful that she agreed to assist me with

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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193 7. Some consultants who aided in the pronoun survey
115 participated in a very informal 'story-telling' contest
•124 for which a prize was awarded to the one who told the most interesting tale. The stories were recorded and a frequency count was taken of third person singular pronouns as they occurred.

193 8. I consider /ɔn/ the most basilectal form for Gullah because, of the variants filling third person feminine objective slot, /ɔn/ is least like the form used in the acrolect. The /i/ form appeared in the objective slot infrequently, but it is not regarded as a performance error because it occurs in this position in Guyanese and Jamaican Creoles. It may be a stage in pronominal acquisition, but it may not be a stage that all speakers go through. *She* is considered mesolectal because it would seem to indicate that a speaker has acquired one acrolectal form to distinguish male from female.

193 9. Different intonation patterns were observed with
194 each tense. Unfortunately, I was not able to capture this
[126] on tape. The consultant assured me that all of the contexts were possible.

19 10. There were only six tokens of /i/ counted in this category. The form [hiɛɛɸ] 'himself' occurs in the data to mark third person feminine possessive as well as third person masculine possessive. It was not included with the other forms because I perceived it to be used by

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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175 567 [782] had slaves of "Moorish or Arabian descent, devout Mussulmans, who prayed to Allah . . . morning, noon, and evening." Wylly adds in a footnote that three times each day Bilali faced East and called upon Allah.[21] When he died his Koran and praying sheepskin were buried with him.

Other details concerning Bilali are given by Georgia Bryan Conrad in her "Reminiscences" which appeared in the *Southern Workman* in 1901. She tells us that "On Sapelo Island, near Darien, I used to know a family of Negroes who worshipped Mahomet. They were all tall and well-formed, with good features. They conversed with us in English, but in talking among themselves they used a foreign tongue that no one else understood. The head of the tribe was a very old man called Bi-la-li. He always wore a cap that resembled a Turkish fez. These Negroes held themselves aloof from the others as if they were conscious of their own superiority." [22]

•124 Bilali's descendants on Sapelo have given me much interesting data on old notions which probably came out of Africa. To avoid collusion I never question two Negroes together, and always check the material given by one with that from others.

822 175 569 Several Sapelo Negroes have told me that red was such a popular color with the Africans that many were captured by slave-ship captains hanging red cloth on the deck of a ship. When the Negroes unsuspectingly came aboard, they took a long

[21] *Thomas Astley in* Vol. II, of his Collection of Voyages and Travels, 1745, gives extracts from the writings of various African explorers. Their observations on the Mohammedans of the Senegal and Gambia region throw some light on the religious customs of the Mohammedans on Sapelo. One said: "the natives along the Gambia worship the one true and only God, whom they call Allah." Another remarked that "Mohammedanism found among these people is very lame. . . . It consists in . . . two or three ceremonies as the Ramadhin, or Lent, The Bayram, or Easter, and the practice of circumcision." Francis Moor made explorations in the same section in 1730 and Astley quotes him as saying: "they [the Fuli] are much like the Arabs, whose language is taught in their schools . . . they are generally more skilled in the Arabic than the Europeans in the Latin; for most of them speak it, though they have a vulgar tongue of their own, called Fuli. . . . Their humanity extends to all, but they are doubly kind to their own race . . . support the old, the blind and the lame. . . . They are rarely angry and the author could never hear them abuse one another. . . . They are always very clean. . . . They are strict Mohammedans and only a few drink brandy." Another explorer specified the time at which the Mohammedan Negroes said their prayers: "at Day-break, Noon, and at Sun-set." Sieur Brüe reported that "they keep standing a considerable time, looking . . . towards the Sun-rising; then they advance two paces, muttering something between their teeth: Then they lie flat on their faces: next rising on their knees . . . and afterwards they kiss the earth, several times."

[22] *It is estimated that Mrs. Conrad saw the Sapelo Bilali shortly before 1860.*